1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says
● 484] that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives.
552 With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

13 S. NALAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang'-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the copra from several small patches of cocoanut palms.

[423] [245] [484]

YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few cocoanut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of cocoanut palms.

MAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the N.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Mavutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abruptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of cocoanut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 161 313 487 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut into the interior.

[p.26]

13 9. GLOKUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-frigging reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or mineature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
● 484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
241 Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 8 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of cocomut palms and wild lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of cocomut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [134] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 484 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

361 The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 161 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 245 trees have been felled in places.
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[p. 37]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 ~~yards~~ yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the S. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and ● 484 245 224 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

13 39. **BUKUTOLU ISLETS** are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]